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AUTHOR Cahir, Stephen R.; Kovac, Ceil
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ABSTRACT

This series, designed for use in inservice teacher workshops, addresses the question, "How do children and teachers use language to get things done?" The transcribed classroom discourse presented and discussed in each volume illustrates functional language in a real context based on the videotaping of undoctored events from kindergarten and grades 1 to 3. Each manual contains workshop exercises to be used with the videotape, describes the theoretical framework from which the work stems, and includes verbal transcripts of the language used in the tapes. The present volume provides information about the verbal and non-verbal aspects of classroom turns at talking, when it succeeds as well as when it breaks down. The videotape depicts whole-group learning exercises in a kindergarten and in a third grade classroom. (Author/JB)

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IT'S YOUR TURN

Participant's Manual

Stephen R. Cahir
Ceil Kovac

EXPLORING FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE
Stephen R. Cahir, Series Coordinator

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S.R.C.
C.K.

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FOREWORD

Exploring Functional Language is a unique set of materials that addresses what is probably the most important question one could ask about language use in the schools: "How do children and teachers use language to get things done?" However obvious such a question may seem, it is unfortunately true that we seldom ask it. Instead, the schools usually try to determine such questions as "How correct is the usage of the children?" or "How mature is the children's language development in terms of pronunciation or grammar?" These are not unimportant questions, but they focus only on the *forms* of language rather than on its *functions*. That is, the questions address the social judgments we can make about language (is it correct or not) rather than the cognitive functions (what does the language get done).

These protocol tapes and manuals effectively illustrate functional language in its real, classroom context with videotapes of the undoctored, actual classroom events. The manuals contain workshop exercises to be used with the videotape, describe (in clear language) the theoretical framework from which the work stems, and include verbal transcripts of the language used in the tapes. All videotape samples (15 to 20 minutes in length) were taken from a large research project conducted at the Center for Applied Linguistics (Peg Griffin and Roger Shuy, *Children's Functional Language and Education in the Early Years*, 1978). Separate manuals accompany each videotape.

A Way with Words describes the principle of functional language in some detail, calling into question conventional school language assessment which deals only with language forms (sounds, vocabulary and grammar) while often ignoring meaning relationships (semantics) and language use (pragmatics).

What's What with Questions explores the use of question asking strategies in the classroom. It points out that questions do a great deal more work than merely getting information. Children have a variety of ways to use questions and this protocol suggests ways that educators can make use of them for in-service or pre-service training. *It's Your Turn* provides information about the verbal and non-verbal aspects of classroom turns at talking, when it succeeds as well as when it breaks down. *Transitions: Activity between Activities* focuses on what has been conventionally considered "down time" by educators. The videotape and manual describe how transitions can function as an actual learning event, socially and cognitively. A similar focus is presented in *When Is Reading?*, which illustrates visually that learning how to read extends far beyond "official" reading time in classrooms. Although much of the focus of these videotapes and manuals is on children's functional language use, teacher talk is also noted, especially in *Teacher Talk Works*, a visible demonstration of talk that teaches, answers, evaluates, manages, and reprimands.

There is no way that a brief overview of this sort can capture the richness of the actual videotaped events in this series. That is precisely the reason, in fact, that the authors decided to present this important information in protocol form. These are *not* books about children's functional language. They *are* children's functional language, captured in natural, real life settings, selected from hundreds of hours of research samples and presented in a way which is convincing, clear and dynamic.

Roger Shuy

INTRODUCTION

☆ **What is meant by turn-taking?**

☆ **In what ways is lesson talk organized and who participates in its organization?**

☆ **Are there nonverbal ways to get a turn?**

☆ **How will these materials be helpful to me in my teaching?**

The preceding are some of the questions that will be dealt with in these materials. This participant's manual is part of a packet of materials that includes an accompanying instructor's manual and a videotape entitled *It's Your Turn*. These materials result from a research project that examined children's language and social behavior in school. The videotape presents excerpts from actual classroom events that clearly illustrate some of the interesting and intricate workings of the school day. Both manuals offer discussions of the tape's major points and provide background information for those who wish to pursue a particular topic further. Also, each manual suggests exercises and activities that will sharpen and personalize your understanding of the topics covered. We hope that you will find these materials relevant and useful to your own teaching experiences.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THESE MATERIALS

The discussion and exercise sections of this manual are designed to be flexible and interchangeable, to accommodate individual learning styles, time schedules, and your own goals.

If you are a participant using this manual in pre-service or in-service training, your instructor will plan a workshop based on these materials. **If you are working on your own,** you may find either of the following approaches helpful or you may wish to devise one of your own.

The transcript reflects the contents of the videotape. Satisfactory work can be done with this manual when the videotape is not available.

OPTION A

(1) Read through the transcript. We suggest this as the first step for any approach, since it is often difficult to read while listening to and watching the tape at the same time.

(2) Look at the tape, if available.

(3) Read the discussion section

(4) Read "Theory and Methods" section (strongly suggested but not necessary to complete the exercises).

(5) Do at least the following exercises:

I. Segment 1 #1,2
Segment 2 #1,2
Segment 3 #1,3

II. General Exercises #1,2,3

(6) Do as many of the remaining exercises as possible, rereading the discussion section as appropriate or necessary.

OPTION B

(1) Read through the transcript.

(2) Look at tape, if available.

(3) Do the following exercises:

I. Segment 1 #1,2
Segment 2 #1,2
Segment 3 #1,3

II. General Exercises #1,2,3

(4) Read the discussion section.

(5) Read "Theory and Methods" (strongly suggested).

(6) Do as many of the remaining exercises as possible, rereading the discussion section as appropriate or necessary.

DISCUSSION

This discussion section is intended mainly as a point of reference for persons participating in workshops or classes based on these materials; however, issues raised here also can serve as departure points for further discussion or as a basis for assignments.

INTRODUCTION

As any teacher knows, a great deal of time and energy is spent "orchestrating" the classroom day. One aspect of this orchestration is *planning* for the content areas: choosing curriculum goals and objectives, selecting appropriate materials and activities, designing daily plans and specific lessons. Another major aspect of orchestration is classroom management, *executing* those carefully made plans. This booklet discusses what happens with lessons, how students and teachers take turns talking, developing topics, exchanging ideas, and learning.

What is "turn-taking"? Imagine a family sitting around the dining room table about to discuss the day's events over dinner. Everyone has a story to tell or an opinion to express. There is complete silence, however, until the "conversational manager" gives the signal that it is time to talk. Immediately, everyone starts speaking at once; no one is listening to anyone else. Chaos occurs—unless the conversational manager is doing the job that always seems to get done without anyone noticing. People let each other speak, they listen and answer questions, and they take their own turns at talking. In actuality this is all accomplished not by the imaginary conversational manager but by means of certain *rules of conversation*. These rules are rarely discussed, except when they are broken: "Let your brother finish what he was saying." "Don't interrupt your father." Nonetheless, these turn-taking rules are constantly in operation to allow intelligible, polite, regular conversation to take place.

Now imagine a group of students sitting in a circle around the teacher to review yesterday's science lesson. It is time for the students to show what they have learned and to ask questions about things they didn't understand. Just as it was unacceptable for everyone to speak at once over dinner, a lesson with all the students talking to one another or to the teacher would be equally chaotic. What is different about the classroom is the actual existence of a conversational manager, the teacher, who establishes and maintains many of the conventions that control lesson talk. Often these conventions or rules are explicitly reinforced, and violations are noticed. The following example is typical of both rules and their reinforcement:

Teacher: First of all, there are blocks in here. Can anyone tell what kind of blocks?

Andre: Like, like the, like . . .

Teacher: No, put your hand up if you want to say something, so we don't interrupt. Ramsay?

In many cases, turn-taking rules are introduced early in the school year and are assumed to be "in force" as a part of the operating procedures. At other times, a teacher may establish specific rules that are particularly appropriate for the discussion at hand. Students, too, take an active role in forming classroom talk by raising their hands, influencing a lesson's development, and subtly adapting and changing the rules to fit their immediate needs. Turn-taking, then, is a basic characteristic of any conversation, and it has special features in classroom lessons.

TURN-TAKING PROCEDURES: AN OVERVIEW

There are a number of ways that teachers and students work together to determine who should speak next and when the next speaker should begin to talk.

Automatic Turn-Taking

One of these procedures can be called *automatic* since the order or sequence of responses is predetermined by the teacher or by the situation. Examples of this automatic turn-taking procedure are relatively common and may depend upon classroom arrangements such as group formations ("Let's go around the circle."), seating assignments ("We'll start at the front of the room and go up and down the rows."), content groupings ("We'll hear first from the group that studied the pilgrims."), or instructional materials ("We'll go through the alphabet beginning with the person who has the letter A."). Factors such as seating arrangements and instructional materials have a frequently overlooked but nonetheless essential influence on classroom language form. Once the teacher has established the automatic system, the order in which the students are to respond is clear, and the teacher need not overtly assign a turn nor need the children ask for a turn by hand raising or the like.

Determining when one turn ends and the next begins can also be automatic. For instance, the boundaries for turns at reading aloud may be defined by specific pieces of written text: "I want each of you to read one paragraph." Since this segmentation should be obvious to everyone, students who fail to adhere to it are open to criticism for not paying attention to what fellow students have read or to the instructions the teacher has given. In other cases, turn boundaries may be less automatically determined, and teachers may provide an evaluation (a nod, "That's right!", "Good!") as a signal to move to the next speaker. Another strategy is simply to say "Next" to end a turn since the on-going system clearly designates the next speaker.

Teachers use this automatic procedure for the practical reasons of economy and speed. Such procedures streamline the mechanical aspects of teaching, allowing the teacher and the class to spend more time on the lesson itself. Streamlining also takes into account shorter attention spans characteristic of younger students by requiring them to share in the responsibility of maintaining the turn-taking system while, at the same time, keeping up with the developing content. By paying attention to what is being said in the lesson, students are also made responsible for giving a

unique answer without repeating what someone else has said. Finally, automatic turn allocation guarantees that each group member has the opportunity to participate.

Turn-Taking by Individual Nomination

The most common way teachers give the children a turn is to call on each one by name, a procedure known as *individual nomination*. It is very easy to find examples of individual nominations in classroom lessons: "John, what do you think?" "What are we having for lunch today, Louise?" "What did Mark just say, Sarah?" Part of the reason for the frequency of this procedure is that it allows the teacher to bring any student into the lesson at any time. Nominating a particular student can serve other purposes also, as shown in the first example where the teacher calls on John to help him focus on the topic at hand and to encourage him to express his opinion. Sarah, in the last example, has been whispering with a friend, and the individual nomination procedure gives the teacher a way to both reprimand her and bring her back into the discussion. With the noise level at a minimum because only one person is speaking at a time, teachers can build their lessons by hearing and thereby incorporating each student's contribution.

Turn-Taking and Recyclable Questions

Thus far, the discussion has centered around two easily recognizable strategies for assigning turns: the automatic procedure and the individual nomination. Turns to answer a question on the floor can also be distributed by simply calling out a student's name or nodding in the student's direction. To see how this procedure works, a word or two is needed here about the kinds of questions teachers ask and, in particular, about *recyclable questions*.

Most of the time, teachers already know the answers to the questions they ask their students. The answers to these "known information" questions are generally of two types: a single correct answer (to the question "What is four plus three?") or a set of possible correct responses (to the request "Give me the name of an animal with four legs."). In either case the teacher already knows what would count as an acceptable answer. A lesson beginning with "Give me the name of an animal with four legs." might take the following course:

Teacher: Give me the name of an animal with four legs. Susan?

Susan: A horse.

Teacher: Good. Give me the name of an animal with four legs. Mike?

Mike: A dog.

Teacher: That's right. Give me the name of an animal with four legs. Linda?

Linda: A gorilla.

Teacher: No, I think a gorilla has two legs, Linda. Give me the name . . .

Obviously there is something very strange about the preceding lesson. Try the next version:

Teacher: Give me the name of an animal with four legs. Susan?

Susan: A horse.

Teacher: Good. Mike?

Mike: A dog.

Teacher: That's right. Linda?

Linda: A gorilla.

Teacher: No, I think . . .

The difference between these two is that in the second version the teacher is using a question-asking strategy called *recycling*. Once the full form of this lesson question has been stated, the same question is asked again or "indexed" by calling on another student. Students seem to have little problem recognizing recycled questions and continuing to provide appropriate responses while the recycling procedure is "in force." Teachers may change the lesson question at any time and use the same strategy again, with the class adapting to the new question and corresponding new set of possible correct answers. The recycling pattern may also be temporarily interrupted by a discussion related to the ongoing lesson or by an exchange between the teacher and a specific student over a partially correct, incomplete, or incorrect answer.

These frequently occurring recyclable questions provide an excellent example of how teachers and students cooperate in using a language strategy particularly well suited to the educational task at hand. They are very efficient when used in conjunction with automatic turn-taking, individual nomination, and the next procedure to be described, *invitations to bid*.

Invitations to Bid

At the beginning of a typical lesson, teachers generally set two kinds of ground rules: one type defines what is to be done in the lesson (content rules), the other specifies how the lesson is to proceed (turn-taking rules). *"Today we are going to talk about what we saw in the filmstrip. Now, I want everyone to sit down and try to remember what we saw. When you have your answer, I want you to raise your hand. You'll have to pay attention to what's already been said so that you don't give an answer we've already heard. Now, who wants to go first? What did the man in the filmstrip say about . . .?"* There is certainly nothing unusual about the beginning of this lesson. The teacher wants each student to "bid" for a turn to answer and to respond without repeating something that has already been said. Anyone who has an answer is a potential bidder; it is the teacher's job to choose who provides the actual responses.

Teacher-initiated bid procedures have to be taught and reinforced in the lower grades as is illustrated in the following exchange observed in a kindergarten class:

Teacher: [. . .] I will read to you "two across." If you think you know the answer, raise your hand. OK? (Children's hands go up) Have I done anything yet?

Children: No.

Teacher: Can you raise your hand yet?

Children: No.

Teacher: OK. Good. [. . .]

This rule is simple: You can't bid for a turn without knowing the question. Another simple rule of bidding that is violated often enough that teachers need to restate it is shown in this kindergarten lesson:

Teacher: (having called on a student whose hand was up) Well, you think a little. It's good to have your word ready when you put your hand up. . .

A message is there: Don't raise your hand unless you have an answer ready to offer.

Teachers use invitations to bid and individual nominations for different reasons. Naming a particular student is an easy way to see that each child has a turn without competing with the rest of the class. It also may be faster than bidding and reduce the amount of confusion and noise that frequently accompanies waving hands, sighs of disappointment, and pleas of "Me! Me! Me!". Invitations to bid, while more time consuming and potentially disruptive, have the advantage of involving as many students as want to be involved. While both turn-taking procedures work well in lessons and with recyclable questions, the student who "self-selects" to take a turn (bids) is more likely to have something to say than the child who is simply nominated without having asked for a chance to speak. Students who "self-select" by hand raising are responding to an invitation to bid; students who "self-select" by calling out an answer are responding to what is called an *invitation to reply*, the next topic of discussion.

Invitations to Reply

Invitations to reply are generally easy to recognize: "Just call out the name of the letter you see on the card." "Class, what do we say when we want to be excused?" In situations like these, the class as a group or any member or members are free to answer. The invitations to reply are often used to get the class engaged in the activity, and as such they can frequently be found at the beginning of lessons. There is less chance of no response when the children can offer answers voluntarily and somewhat anonymously than under other turn-taking conditions. While invita-

tions to reply are particularly appropriate when one and only one correct answer exists, there is always some danger that one or two students might monopolize the conversation. "Give someone else a chance to answer" may work, or it may be necessary to change the turn-taking procedure.

Although some invitations to reply are unambiguous, a problem arises when it is not so clear who is to respond and how the opportunity to answer is obtained. The next section, *turn not assigned*, addresses this issue.

Turn Not Assigned

To explain what is meant by "turn not assigned" let's first look at two brief examples.

Teacher: What is the most important thing in the recipe?
Student A: (hand raised) I know!
Student B: (at the same time as A) Yeast.
Teacher: Student A, you tell us.
Student A: Yeast.
Teacher: That's right. Yeast.

and

Teacher: What is the most important thing in the recipe?
Student A: (hand raised) I know!
Student B: (at the same time as A) Yeast.
Teacher: That's right. Yeast.

In both of these versions it is clear that the two students have different ideas about the appropriate turn-taking procedure that the teacher's question requires. Student A operates under the assumption that the teacher has issued an invitation to bid and, therefore, raises her hand. Student B reacts as though the teacher's question is an invitation to reply and calls out his answer. It is the teacher who decides how the initial question was intended to be treated by the alternative responses given in the two situations. In the first example, the teacher goes along with the invitation-to-bid interpretation by pretending that "Yeast." was not already said and calling on the student who properly raised her hand. In the second example, the teacher accepts the "Yeast." response as initially offered, thereby validating student B's invitation-to-reply interpretation. Either reaction by the teacher is possible depending on the circumstances.

In any case, teachers often vary the turn-taking strategies that they use within a particular lesson. For instance, a lesson may begin with an invitation to reply issued to the entire class, followed by an invitation to bid. This same lesson may then incorporate a recyclable question that ultimately is stream-lined to simply naming the next student to answer.

There are several important things to note here. First and foremost, turns not assigned do not represent a case of careless or bad teaching. It is a common event in any classroom and one that is easily handled. Second, the resolution itself highlights the collaborative nature and spirit of classroom language with both teacher and students together shaping the forms of lessons. Finally, it is interesting to speculate whether students who consistently respond in one way under turn-not-assigned conditions influence their teacher's behavior to prefer one turn-taking procedure over others.

It is evident that when the turn-taking procedure is left open for interpretation, the students assign the interpretation that best fits their needs at the moment. They take certain risks (the teacher reprimands or overlooks them) by shouting out a correct answer when what was expected was a bid. If calling out is an acceptable way to answer, those who bid face the consequences of not having had a chance to show what they know. Students are aware of these risks and consequences, and they behave in reasonable, understandable ways in order to accomplish their competitive goals as well as the cooperative ones of their teacher.

Up to now, turn-taking has been presented only in terms of the verbal procedures that operate in classrooms. But what about the nonverbal strategies, the gestures and body positions, that say "I want a turn." or "I'm not available to give you a turn."? The final section is about *nonverbal behavior and turn-taking*.

Nonverbal Behavior and Turn-Taking

The best way to introduce this topic is to describe a situation of nonverbal behavior and turn-taking, found in the final segment of the accompanying videotape. The nonverbal behavior referred to in this discussion is generalized from that setting. A third grade group, consisting of the teacher and four girls, is sitting around a small table; three of the girls are working on geoboard string designs while the girl seated to the teacher's right side is reading aloud and discussing the story with her. The amount of space between the teacher and the student who is reading is an area that can be referred to as the "near" region. It is such that, if the situation arises, they can touch each other or come into each other's working area without moving their chairs or straining to reach. Furthermore, the teacher and this child have oriented their bodies toward one another, typically with the teacher focused on the student and the student's attention centered on the materials, in this case the book. This ongoing configuration is appropriate to the task at hand and signals to outsiders that the activity is more than casual.

This section does not include any verbal interaction and the sound has been deleted from this segment of tape in order to concentrate on the *kinesic* behavior (body posture, position, and movement) and on the spatial arrangements of this group, as students attempt to get help from

an already busy teacher. These kinesic-spatial behaviors of turn-taking can be described by three patterns or stages: approach, maintenance, and closing or disassembling.

- The Approach

In this first stage, the child wanting to get a turn moves into the spatial arrangement of the teacher and the student who is reading by decreasing the distance between himself and this working formation. This change of position is necessary to make a bid for the teacher's attention. It can be done by a direct approach or by hovering around until either the teacher dismisses the working child or the pair reaches a mutually acceptable stopping point (i.e. the turning of a page). Eventually, all bidders have to get into the "near" region described earlier if they want to be recognized and competitive.

A waiting period often occurs before the actual bid, with the student trying to get into the rhythm of the teacher-working student. The bidder may do this by looking at their working material and at the person who is speaking. Behaving in synchrony with another person or persons is a way of showing attentiveness and interest in joining in with the current activity. During this waiting period, the teacher may glance at the bidder or at whatever it is that the bidder wants to show her and then immediately turn her attention again to the working student. Additionally, without shifting the position of her head or her glance away from what she is doing, she may attempt to draw the bidder closer, perhaps by reaching out her arm. In any case, the teacher almost invariably waits for a suitable place to stop before indicating her availability. She may then ask the student what he wants, but more often simply turning her head toward the bidder is enough to "ask" the question. The turn is secured at this point and it is now up to the student to state the reason for seeking help. The second phase begins with this verbal explanation.

Before leaving the approach phase, there is one final pair of moves that solidify many of the bids in this particular lesson. After receiving an indication of the teacher's attention (head turn and eye contact), the student presents the material to her while beginning to speak. The teacher usually takes a bidder's materials and places them in front of her for examination. As she does this, the student must simultaneously move in closer (to the "immediate" region) to keep up with the teacher's shifting focus. These moves also protect the newly won turn from further interruption by blocking other bidders and even the child who was reading from access to the teacher.

- Maintenance Stage

The approach phase in this turn-taking process becomes the maintenance phase as the bidder speaks to legitimize the claim for attention. The teacher at this point assesses the legitimacy, looking for adequate justification for the interruption and either permits the turn to continue or dismisses the child. In the sequence, the students frequently present an object (an assignment, a book, a paper, or the like) around which the content of the request can be explained. As the teacher examines the material to locate the problem and to see what is being asked of her, the student *maintains* the "immediate" spatial rights that have been achieved. Having listened to the

student's explanation, the teacher may rephrase the issue, looking directly at the child now. Conversation ensues about different solutions to the problem with heads, eyes, and bodies moving in unison as both participants shift smoothly back and forth from the material in question to each other.

- Closing or Disassembling Stage

The problem is solved, the information gotten, the permission granted. Ending an interaction, particularly an interruption, can be a delicate matter, one that many people have a hard time accomplishing gracefully. Careful scrutiny of many videotaped leave-takings between teacher and outside student bidders reveals no consistent closing patterns. Only one kinesic behavior occurred frequently in these examples: the teacher handed back or released the object brought by the child. Soon thereafter the student left.

This lack of closing might be explained by the fact that neither teacher nor students have become totally disengaged—their mutual involvement will continue throughout the school day, indeed throughout the year. Seen in this light, elaborate endings do not seem necessary since both parties are likely to be dealing with each other in the very near future. Furthermore, the former bidder now has what was needed to resume working and the teacher can return to the interrupted activity or attend to the next bidder.

WHEN TURN-TAKING BREAKS DOWN: SPECIFIC DISCUSSION

The preceding discussion presents some of the more common turn-taking procedures: how they work and what they accomplish as teachers and students together construct classroom lessons. However, any procedure has the potential to break down. This discussion, through examples taken from lesson transcripts and the accompanying videotape, will examine what happens when turn-taking does break down. How does the lesson get back on track? How is the system repaired and by whom?

Segment 1

This kindergarten class has visited a greenhouse a few days earlier and now the teacher wants her students to recall the herbs that she purchased during the visit. She issues an invitation to bid, establishes a recyclable lesson question, and then calls on an individual student from among those with raised hands. Clearly, things are going well as the teacher herself exclaims: ". . . Beautiful! All the answers I want you're giving me." The students also appear pleased as they eagerly bid for turns and provide correct answers, not only to the recycled question but also to lesson-related questions embedded within: "Parsley starts with what, Robin?" . . . "(Orange mint) to make what, Christina?". After a response is given to each of these and the teacher has evaluated the answer, students again raise their hands signaling the return to the recycled question procedure.

At this point, it is worthwhile to consider two aspects of the teacher's role as an evaluator of students' performance. This kindergarten teacher uses two words—"beautiful" and "gorgeous"—in this short segment to let her class know that the content of the answer is acceptable. The important word to note here is *content:* evaluations assess the content of the responses. In contrast are statements such as the following one, which occurs at the end of this same lesson:

Setting: *Teacher is counting the list of children's replies.*

Teacher: OK, that's one—

Sally: I have [another one.

Teacher: [two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten. That means I need nine more.

Sally: [I have ano—

Teacher: [and not two from you, yet, Sally, 'cause I want to see what everyone else can do.

With her last statement the teacher is not evaluating the content of Sally's contribution but rather the appropriateness of her attempted answer. Sally has had a turn and the rule is one answer per person. She is therefore ineligible. Such an assessment of the talk can be called a *sanction*, differentiating it from *content evaluation*.

Examples of sanctions and content evaluations are relatively easy to distinguish in classroom talk. In addition to this contrast (content vs. placement), evaluations and sanctions commonly differ in another way. Teachers provide both positive and negative feedback to the content of student answers, although expressed negative evaluation ("wrong," "incorrect") occurs much less frequently than its positive counterpart ("beautiful," "gorgeous" and so on). In the case of sanctions, however, the situation is quite different. Teachers very rarely if ever praise a student for turn placement. Thus, sanctions primarily and perhaps only appear as negative remarks.

Sanctions are one of the ways that teachers maintain and enforce classroom turn-taking rules. They are used at various points during a student's inappropriately placed turn. Sometimes a teacher will deal with the interruption by interrupting it as the preceding example with Sally illustrates. At other times, the same teacher may wait until the student has finished talking before sanctioning. The actual placement of sanctions seems to depend on several factors, among them the lesson, the teacher, the individual student, and time constraints.

Within this first segment there is an example of a possible third way to sanction the placement of a turn. Although the teacher has issued an unambiguous invitation to bid, the students in their excitement occasionally treat the ongoing turn-taking as an invitation to reply by shouting out an answer—"Spaghetti!" The first time "Spaghetti!" is offered, the teacher appears to ignore it; this

can be seen as a sanction of sorts. Spaghetti does not disappear from the lesson, however. Even after students have repeatedly called out what seems to be a silly answer the teacher does not sanction overtly. Rather, she incorporates the answer by providing the name of the herb, oregano. "I bought oregano. Oregano is used to make spaghetti." The teacher turns a potentially disruptive moment into a relevant lesson contribution by making the connection the students had hinted at but not actually made themselves. A too-quickly issued dismissal might well have resulted in no oregano on the list. This illustrates how teacher and students work together to construct the lesson content and the lesson form.

Segment 2

This third grade lesson is an inductive one aimed at discovering the rules for pluralization. This inductive method to elicit a *principle* might be seen as contrasting to the kindergarten lesson where the goal was to construct a *list* of student rememberings. The kindergarten teacher also frequently provided summaries of what was contributed, perhaps to keep the lesson on course and to prevent students from breaking the "unique answer—don't repeat" rule. For the third graders, the teacher more often seeks new examples rather than providing summaries of already offered responses; after all, the summation and formulation of the pluralization rules are these older students' responsibilities.

In addition to these different expected outcomes, breaks in the recyclable lesson question pattern also contrast. Compare the following:

(from the kindergarten lesson)

T: Beautiful. OK, Christina.

Christina: Um, orange.

T: Beautiful. [Orange mint.

Christina: [Orange

T: To make what, Christina?

Christina: Tea.

T: Gorgeous. OK, Caroline.

(from the third grade lesson)

T: More than one. Give me an example. Larry?

Larry: Of one?

T: Of any—of—of a plural. *(continued)*

Larry: Mouse and mice.

T: All right, which is the plural?

Larry: Mice.

T: All right. Give me another plural.

In the first example, the teacher breaks the recyclable pattern by asking an additional question not directly related to the task at hand though certainly not inappropriate to general learning. She had to complete Christina's partial answer by supplying the "mint" to "orange." Perhaps the question then about uses for orange mint is to insure that Christina is indeed on the right track. Interestingly, this exchange foreshadows the "Spaghetti!" answer that occurs later in the lesson, an answer where the *use* of an herb rather than the *name* is provided.

Now look at the third grade example. Here again the teacher breaks the recyclable pattern but in this instance the additional question is used to clarify the response "Mouse and mice." The follow-up question then specifies the answer to the recycled lesson question. However, despite these contrasts, stemming in part from grade level differences, there are a number of similarities in terms of the turn-taking mechanisms and sanctionings.

One additional feature of sanctioning might be mentioned here since these two lessons provide explicit examples of what can be called *direct* and *indirect* types of sanctions. Short, direct remarks to a student, designed to halt the speech immediately, are direct sanctions. They may show a teacher's disapproval of an interruption without specifically mentioning the interruption ("No.", "Unn-uhh.", a head-shake), or they may order the student to stop talking at once ("Shh.", "Quiet.", "Wait a minute."). Indirect sanctions, on the other hand, take the form of remarks *about* the child's illegally taken turn rather than actual attempts to cut the interruption off in mid-sentence ("I want to hear Bob now." "You're not helping him by calling out." "Did you hear what I said?").

While direct and indirect sanctions occur on all grade levels, there seems to be a tendency for teachers of the lower grades to use the direct forms more often. These are clear and overt and may be seen as more effective in maintaining the turn-taking rules for the younger children. As the older students are more experienced with classroom etiquette and with subtleties of language use, it may be just as effective and more socially appropriate simply to *refer* to a breach of the rules.

In all cases, sanctioning is a necessary counterpoint to turn-taking procedures if those procedures are to remain efficient. This generalization holds true even for the nonverbal stages as is discussed in the next and final section.

Segment 3

In each section of this discussion, there has been a central theme: What happens when procedures break down and what can be done? Teachers issue sanctions when students do not adhere

to the "rules"—sometimes restating the rule, other times interrupting, and even at times allowing exceptions to the rule. These rules and sanctions have been related primarily to verbalized turn-taking procedures. However, there are also rules for the nonverbal turn-taking procedures that are described at the end of the overview discussion. Simply expressed these rules might be:

- ☐ Do not enter the "near" or "immediate" spatial regions until the teacher and working child give a go-ahead signal.
- ☐ Do not speak or say the teacher's name or make your bid until the teacher turns to you.
- ☐ Do not place your paper or object in front of the teacher until she has turned to you or has clearly finished with the last person.
- ☐ Do have something legitimate to say.

These rules may be a bit more subtle than those for verbal turn-taking, but still one has to ask the general question: Why would students risk the consequences of being viewed negatively by breaking the rule?

There are several reasons from a student's perspective for taking such risks. Some are quite simple reasons having more to do with the students being children than anything else. For example, interrupting is one way to get valued attention, albeit negative at times, from the teacher. Other reasons have to do with content of the attention. Teacher knows best and therefore will not misinform; besides, who wants to ask a fellow student and risk getting the wrong information. The "society" of the classroom also influences a student's willingness to risk. The possibility of teacher's denial is somehow less offensive than the probability of appearing stupid in the eyes of a classmate and peer. Finally and most importantly, students believe that their teachers care and will help.

Seen from the student's viewpoint, then, it is not all that surprising to observe violations of classroom rules. This statement is not meant to minimize the disruptiveness of such violations, nor does the lack of surprise indicate acceptance of persistent rule-breaking. Rather, the point is a simple one. When children enter the classroom, a new dimension is added to the language development by the demands of the social setting. Students' language form and use must at once serve their needs as children and their obligations as members of the classroom society. Students learn these facts and how to realize them. This learning like all learning happens through instruction, through experimentation, through success and through failure.

EXERCISES

The following set of exercises is divided into two sections. In the first one, the exercises are based directly on the tape and transcript. The second section consists of general exercises. In both sections, the exercises may be done independently or as assignments in either a workshop or a class setting. While the exercises may be adapted to different workshop or class formats, many of them are best done with pencil and paper and a tape recorder.

The general purpose of these exercises is to focus and refine your understanding of the topic at hand, both through *observation* and *discussion* of the tape segments and through *application* of what is learned from these observations and discussions. It is *not* the purpose of the exercises to elicit criticism of the behavior of the children or the teachers seen on the tape.

I. EXERCISES BASED ON TAPE AND TRANSCRIPT MATERIAL

Segment 1

(1) Mark off on the transcript each student answer and then locate the question that elicited the answer. What is the form of the question? How is the question asked? What types of turn-taking strategies are present?

(2) Locate on the transcript places where the turn-taking procedures break down. Who repairs the system and how is the repair done? In particular, discuss the "Spaghetti!" answer in terms of its placement in the lesson and its correctness as a response. What do you do with partially correct answers or with answers which are acceptable but offered at inappropriate times?

(3) Make a list of the implicit rules of conversation that the teacher and the students adhere to in this lesson. Some of these rules are general to all lessons (i.e. one person speaks at a time) while others are particular to this class. Remember that the rules become explicit when they are broken and a sanction is issued or a comment is made. For each rule note whether it is specific to lesson talk or to all conversation and speculate on the reasons why each rule is necessary.

Segment 2

(1) Repeat the same exercise suggested for segment #1, exercise #1. Compare the answers to

the two exercises. Are there different question forms and turn-taking strategies for this third grade class as opposed to the kindergarten group? To what can these differences be attributed?

(2) Make a list of the sanctions that appear in these two lesson segments. Indicate whether the sanctioning devices are direct or indirect. What circumstances would make indirect sanctioning more appropriate or less appropriate than the direct form?

(3) What are the purposes of summarizing the lesson's progress? Are summaries strictly related to building content or are some conversational management tasks accomplished also? If so, discuss these.

(4) Frequently within lessons, discussion occurs which may appear related to the lesson question and topic but at the same time is something of a digression. Find an example of such a digression in this segment. Is the recyclable questioning pattern affected? What is the evidence for your answer? If so, how do the teacher and students return to the lesson topic at hand?

Segment 3

(1) If the videotape is available, watch this segment closely, focusing on one student as he or she approaches and teacher-student interaction. Note the stages of nonverbal turn-taking as presented in the discussion. Look for an instance when a student is successful in getting help and for an example of an unsuccessful attempt.

(2) Although the discussion is centered on the students' strategies for getting a turn, it is also revealing to watch the reactions of the other students working at the table with the teacher. How do these other students react to the interruption? For example, do they continue to work at what they were doing, unaffected by what is going on, or do they in some way participate in the interruption? What do their bodies tell you about their reactions?

(3) Observe a fellow teacher in a situation similar to that which is on the videotape. Can you pick out those students who are contemplating an approach or who are actually in the process of attempting to obtain a turn from the teacher? How do you know? Are there any indications of which students might be successful? Don't forget to watch the teacher also.

(4) Make a list of some of the strategies, signals, and resources that teachers can use to prevent students from interrupting. While formulating such a list, keep in mind verbal statements, nonverbal signals, alternatives to the teacher as a resource for help, time schedules, and the like.

II. GENERAL EXERCISES

(1) Put yourself in the role of an observer during a multi-party conversation, perhaps at a dinner table or during some informal discussion. Make note of how the conversation begins and ends and how the turns-to-talk are taken. Does the person who initiates the conversation have any special rights? What about the conversational rights in terms of age, status, and goals of each of the different speakers?

(2) Variations on exercise #1 are possible:

a) Observe without participating in the conversation as well as taking the position of a participant observer.

b) Watch the turn-taking procedures in a formal discussion (staff meeting, debate, or the like) and note how different levels of formality change these procedures.

c) Notice the differences in turn-taking when speakers cannot see each other, such as during a telephone conversation, as opposed to a face-to-face discussion.

For each of these variations, refer to the questions presented in exercise #1.

(3) In all of the different conversations that you observe, watch for moments when the turn-taking system breaks down, as in the case of interruptions and moments when two or more people begin to talk at once. How do speakers "repair" the system? Under what circumstances do speakers sanction each other for breaking conversational rules and what forms do these sanctions take?

(4) In this booklet several turn-taking procedures particular to lessons are presented. Which of these can occur in nonlesson conversation? Which cannot occur? Why? When answering these questions use your own experience as an observer and as a participant in considering such factors as politeness, appropriateness, and purpose of the conversation.

(5) How do people engaged in discussion indicate that they want a turn to talk? Students have certain verbal and nonverbal strategies that they use; what are some of the analogous strategies used in nonlesson talk? Remember those which involve body posture and movement as well as the verbal ones.

THEORY AND METHODS

The research on which the information presented in this booklet is based results from direct observation and recording of actual classroom events. It might be surprising to some to discover that the idea of entering the school to find out what goes on there is relatively new. Prior to this observational approach, researchers concentrated heavily on the antecedents and consequences of education—that is, on what the student supposedly did not know before schooling and on what the student supposedly did know after having been formally taught. To many, this was unsatisfactory since educators and researchers alike wanted more information about the *processes* of teaching and learning and not simply about the possible *results*.

Interaction Analysis System

As researchers began to go into classrooms, there rapidly evolved a number of systems that observers could use to segment the stream of ongoing behavior into small units. These were easily marked off on coding sheets for later tabulation. A pioneer of this type of observational system is Ned Flanders (1966, 1970). Flanders' work, called "interaction analysis," began a tradition of research which has taken a variety of forms. Some of these observation systems provide lists of prespecified categories such as "teacher asks question" or "pupil initiates talk". Other systems consist of checklists of occurrences, such as "pupil leaves room" or "teacher works at desk," to record.

In many interaction analysis studies, the observers visit selected classrooms for a brief, specified time. They record portraits of the ongoing action but, for the sake of objectivity, avoid any interaction with the participants. To increase the accuracy of their general statements, such studies regularly involve a large number of classrooms. In this work there also appears to be an emphasis on what the teacher does. This may reflect a view of schooling where the teacher actively instructs passive recipients, students.

On the positive side, these interaction analysis systems are by and large easy to apply to large-scale investigations. They provide numerical information that can be used to characterize statistically classroom life and to compare student and teacher behaviors against the norms such studies create. In some ways they are similar in purpose and result to the psychological and intellectual standardized testing that has become a recognized part of school and school records.

On the negative side, however, are three weaknesses that must be acknowledged. First, these systems are built on predecided categories that place artificial and too-often arbitrary boundaries on the continuous, simultaneous behaviors of teachers and students. Second, only that which can be observed on the surface is captured by these systems, ignoring questions about people's

intentions, motivations, and purposes. When purpose or the like is inherent in the observational category ("teacher accepts and clarifies an attitude or the feeling tone of a pupil in a nonthreatening manner" from Flanders, 1970), the observer interprets the meaning without checking with the participants themselves. Finally, and not unrelated to the two preceding points, it is impossible to go beyond the categories to interpret the information collected through the categories. In other words, it is not possible to explain in a global sense what happened in the classroom and what the observer witnessed except by using the "frozen" bits of reality, the categories themselves. The descriptions then become circular: for instance, lessons may be thought to have five components; the observer sees the five components; the analyst relates the five components to lesson behavior; lessons do indeed consist of the predetermined five components.

There is another approach to classroom research that has greatly influenced the descriptions of school language use presented in these materials. (Cicourel, et al, 1974; Mehan, 1979, among others) This approach stems more from work conducted in social anthropology, sociology, and sociolinguistics than from behavioral psychology, a major inspiration for interaction analysis. While there are basic differences in how information is collected and analyzed, both approaches begin with the goal of accurately describing behavior. However, the contrasts between the two far outweigh this similarity of goal.

Participant Observer Approach

There are a variety of titles (ethnography, participant observation, naturalistic research) under which the second strand might be generally placed. More important than the name are the features that distinguish this work from interaction analyses. The role of the observer is one of a participant immersed in the surroundings for a prolonged period of time. In addition, these studies frequently look at only one or a small number of classrooms with a variety of different techniques: interviews with participants, questionnaires, field-notes and, in some cases, audio/video recordings. For some studies the central concern is language and its development (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975); for others it is the socialization processes of children into school life (Hymes, 1972; Stubbs, 1976); for all of this research the key word is *context*—the actual, real world settings (Erickson and Schultz, 1981).

Such studies contrast sharply with interaction analysis examinations by accepting the complexity and totality of what is observed rather than attempting to predetermine what is to be observed beforehand. Obviously, as the analysis of the whole picture proceeds, certain aspects of the observed events emerge as important or interesting and therefore receive a more concentrated examination. However, it must be emphasized that these focal areas are not selected prior to analysis but as part of the analytic process itself. As a result, this research can and frequently does go beyond anticipated results to ask new questions and to develop additional topics for future investigations (Cazden, John, and Hymes, 1972).

Given the potential diversity of findings that come from such work in individual classrooms, one might question how generally these findings can be applied to other settings. The case study approach is always susceptible to this criticism. A possible response to this concern for limited generalizability highlights the fact that important variations in school behavior do not get lost in tabulation and averaging. Nonetheless, universal characteristics of classroom life are repeatedly reaffirmed and refined as the number of studies grows.

Suggested Readings

The following list of suggested readings are provided to give you an idea of some of the better-known work within each of the traditions discussed above. You may well find these interesting not only for understanding how and what research can contribute to education, but also for increasing your own ability to observe what you and your students are doing in your own classrooms.

Amidon, Edmund, and Ned Flanders. *The Role of the Teacher in the Classroom*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Association for Productive Teaching, Inc., 1967

Bellack, A.A., H.M. Kliebard, R.T. Hyman, and F.L. Smith. *The Language of the Classroom*. New York: Teachers' College Press, 1966

Brophy, J. and T. Good. *Teacher-Child Dyadic Interaction: A Manual for Coding Classroom Behavior*. Report Series #27. Austin, Tex.: The Research and Development for Teacher Educational Center, 1969

Brophy, J. and T. Good. *Teacher-Student Relationships: Causes and Consequences*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974

Cazden, Courtney B., Vera John, and Dell Hymes (eds.). *Functions of Language in the Classroom*. New York: Teachers College, 1972

Cicourel, Aaron, et al. *Language Use and School Performance*. New York: Academic Press, 1974

Dunkin, M.J. and B.J. Biddle. *The Study of Teaching*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974

Erickson, F. and J. Schultz. "When Is a Context? Some Issues and Methods in the Analysis of Social Competence." In J. Green and C. Wallat, *Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1981

Flanders, N.A. *Interaction Analysis in the Classroom: A Manual for Observers*. Revised edition. Ann Arbor, Mich.: School of Education, University of Michigan, 1966

Flanders, N.A. *Analyzing Teaching Behavior*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1970

Gage, N.L. *Teacher Effectiveness and Teacher Education: The Search for Scientific Basis*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1971

Garfinkel, Harold. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967

Hymes, Dell. "Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life." In John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972

Labov, William. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972

Mehan, Hugh. *Learning Lessons: Social Organization in the Classroom*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979

Simon, A. and G.E. Boyer (eds.). *Mirrors for Behavior*. Philadelphia: Research for Better Schools, 1968

Simon, A. and G.E. Boyer (eds.). *Mirrors for Behavior II*. Philadelphia: Research for Better Schools, 1970

Sinclair, J. McH. and R.M. Coulthard. *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The English Used by Teachers and Pupils*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975

Stubbs, Michael. *Language, Schools and Classrooms*. London: Methuen and Co., 1976

GUIDELINES FOR TRANSCRIPTION

Several of the exercises in this manual require tape-recording and transcribing portions of conversation. The following are some basic guidelines for transcribing. A look at the transcript in this manual will also be useful.

(1) Decide how you will refer to each speaker, either by full name or by initial. Put this full name or initial in front of every new turn taken by that speaker.

Ann: Okay.
Melissa: Wait. Okay.
Ann: Measure—Do it again.

(2) In order to transcribe accurately everything a given speaker says, you may want to listen to a small segment, stop the tape, write down what you remember, and then listen to that segment again. Do not be surprised if what you *think* you hear and what is actually said are two different things. That is the reason for replaying difficult or quickly spoken segments. It may be helpful to listen to longer stretches on both sides of the troublesome sequence.

(3) Sometimes two people start talking at once, or one person interrupts another. This is usually shown in transcription with brackets marking the overlapping section:

Melissa: It's [as far out as
Ann: [No, it might not be] it can go.

It is, of course, often difficult to hear what either speaker is saying in a case of overlap. As you can note, the continuing utterance of the person who keeps on talking after the overlap should be transcribed.

(4) Sometimes it is simply impossible to hear or understand what someone has said. This is dealt with by using square brackets; sometimes the word *unintelligible* is also included.

T: I'm going to [unintelligible] I'm going to go over to the listening center.

In other cases, you may not be entirely sure about a given word or sequence. This can be indicated as follows:

Pupil: I think we're gonna have some fun.

It may sometimes be impossible to tell who is talking. This can be indicated as follows:

(Unknown Speaker): I don't think so.

(5) There may be some information concerning nonverbal behavior or pauses that you want to include in your transcript. Parenthesis can be used for this:

Albert: Bambi.
Garnett: (shakes head "no")
Albert: What?
T: [unintelligible] (pause) Who is Dan talking to?
Pupils: (raise hands)

TAPE TRANSCRIPT

T: All right, last night when we were doing your homework, we said we would think about some of the ways that you made a word plural. Plural means what?

Various: [More.
More than one.

T: More than one. Give me an example. Larry?

Larry: Of one?

T: Of any—of—of a plural.

Larry: Mouse and mice.

T: All right, which is the plural?

Larry: Mice.

T: All right. Give me another plural.

Pupil: Deer.

T: Good. That's also a singular, isn't it? Give me another plural, Greg?

Greg: Pigs.

T: Huh?

Greg: Pigs.

T: Pigs. John?

John: Clowns.

T: Clowns.

Pupil: Um, I forgot what I was gonna say.

T: OK.

Pupil: Dictionary.

T: Is that plural or singular?

Pupil: Singular.

T: Give me the plural.

Pupil: Dictionaries.

T: Good.

Pupil: Hog.

T: Give me the plural.

Pupil: Hogs.

T: Right. All right, what—what is the way that we usually form a plural? What do we do? Jackie?

Jackie: Add an s.

T: We add an s.

Pupil: Or ing.

T: All right, now, just a moment. All right, who can give me a few, two or three, examples of words where we just add -s? Katie.

Some of the golden rules of school days are more or less hidden rules, like some of the rules for taking turns at participating in the learning activities that make up a class lesson. Parts of these rules are mentioned; parts are explicitly taught; other parts are never mentioned, never taught, but teachers and students follow the rules just the same. When the rules are broken, people notice and do repair work. This tape contains small segments of classroom lessons in kindergarten and grade 3, where you can see these turn-taking rules operating and see how the teachers and children work with these rules. You'll have a chance to see some of the taped segments more than once. The last segment has the voices deleted so you can concentrate on the kinesics—the body positions and movements. Please remember, it is harder to look at tapes of really occurring activities than at tapes of actors presenting a performance. Remember, too, that the eye and ear of the video equipment emphasize certain things that might not be noticed if you were present in the classroom. Most important, remember these are only short examples and it is not reasonable to make judgments about the abilities or personalities of the teachers or the students. The third grade children we are now watching probably took part in lessons in kindergarten that were pretty much like this next segment.

Kindergarten: Whole Group. Herbs and Spices.
Teacher's Elicitation – Student's Response – Teacher's Evaluation

T: . . . if you do, raise your hand. Remember what I bought, what kinds of herbs I bought at the greenhouse. Meredith. Listen, everyone. The answers for this are going to be coming from you. Go.

Meredith: I only remember one. Parsley.

T: Parsley. Parsley starts with what, Robin?

Pupil: P.

Pupil: P.

Pupil: P.

T: Beautiful. OK. Christina.

Christina: Um, orange.

T: Beautiful. [Orange mint. Orange

T: To make what, Christina?

Christina: Tea.

T: Gorgeous. OK, Caroline.

Caroline: Thyme.

T: Thyme. Beautiful. All the answers I want you're giving me. Good. Sally?

Sally: I forget what I was going to say.

T: OK, we bought parsley, we bought orange, we bought thyme. What else, Tiana?

Tiana: [unintelligible]

T: Or . . .

Pupil: Spaghetti!

Carter: Spearamint.

T: Spearmint. Thank you, Carter. OK, any thing else you remember I bought?

Pupil: Spaghetti?

Pupil: Yeah, spaghetti.

T: OK. We bought—listen carefully so the next time I ask you, you'll know—I bought thyme, I bought oregano—oregano is used to make spaghetti, John—John, this is something I think you can handle—don't interrupt us anymore. Thank you, love. I also—Chip—I also bought parsley, thyme, rosemary, sage, um . . .

Pupil: Spearmint.

T: Spearmint.

Pupil: Parsley.

T: Parsley. OK, I said that.

Third Grade: Whole Group. Rules for Plurals. Teacher's Elicitation–Child's Response–Teacher's Evaluation

T: All right, can anybody think of any other words where we add the -es? Virginia.

Virginia: Foxes.

T: Do you agree?

Pupils: Yeah.

(General discussion, one child says *oxen*.)

T: That's funny, because most words—what's another word that ends in ox that adds -es?

Pupils: Box.

T: Box. Good.

(General discussion)

T: Huh?

Pupil: Add-esses.

Pupil: Addresses.

T: Addresses. Good.

T: John?

John: Buses.

T: Buses. /pause/ A'right, this can be spelled this way or this way, remember?

John: Uh-huh.

T: OK. I'll leave it that way, a'right?

Pupil: Smooshes.

T: A'right, is there such a thing as a smoosh?

Pupil: Smushes.

T: Huh? Is there—those are what kinds of words?

Pupil: Maked-up.

T: Smush.

Pupil: Nouns.

Pupil: Nuh-uh!

Pupil: Verbs.

T: Verbs. They add . . . All right, another one.

Pupil: . . . es, (plusses?)

T: Can you think of another word that adds -es? To make a plural—Jennifer?

Jennifer: Marshes.

T: Huh?

Jennifer: Marshes.

T: Good.

Pupil: Oh . . . uh.

T: Jennifer remembered one from [unintelligible] Jenny?

Jennifer: Messes.

T: Chris?

Chris: Bushes.

T: Bushes. Peter?

Peter: Branches.

Pupil: Um—taxes.

T: Excuse me?

Pupil: Taxes.

T: Good.

John: Blouses.

T: Now this word is blouse, John.

John: I know.

T: What do I add to it [to

Pupils: [-s

T: A'right, that's a tricky one, isn't it? It looks like it. That was a good idea.

Pupil: I have another to add the -s

T: A'right, well, let's just think of -es right now. Greg?

Greg: Boxes.

T: OK, looking at the list we have so far, can you think of a rule or a pattern that you see coming out of what we have here? The way that you make plurals—when do you add -es? What would you say? (pause) Wait a minute [unintelligible]. John?

John: When you have words—no . . .

T: OK, think about what you see here—do you see any patterns in here?

Pupils: [Yes.
[Yes.

T: What patterns, John?

John: Um—whenever you don't have a vowel at the end of the word you add -es.

T: With this vowel—and you don't—is that a vowel?

John: No.

T: What did I add?

Pupil: Oh, I see, I see.

T: Does your pattern work?

John: Uh hm.

T: Can you look again? Cecilia?

Cecilia: I've got two of 'em.

T: A'right.

Cecilia: When it ends with x, you add -es; and when it ends with

T: Do you think that works? When it ends with -s?

Cecilia: X.

T: Oh, x. Excuse me. Does that work?

Pupil: [Yes!
Pupil: [I was thinking.

T: Can anybody think of one that doesn't work when it ends with x? There's only one that I know of. What? Ox. Does it work for everything else?

Pupil: Yeah.

T: A'right, so that's one. Cecilia says if it ends with an x, except for oxen—and oxen we call what kind of plural? That long word . . .

Pupil: Irregular.

T: Irregular, because it doesn't fit a pattern. A'right, can anybody else see another pattern up here? Chris?

Third Grade: Small Group. Body Language.

Kinesics: Body Posture
Body Position
Body Movements

NOW IT'S YOUR TURN

TO TALK ABOUT TURNS

AND HOW THEY WORK

WHEN LEARNING IS GETTING DONE.